

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 00835 191327Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 EURE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-07
ERDA-05 EB-07 DHA-02 ORM-02 TRSE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 /100 W
-----191333Z 096178 /40

O R 191141Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3227

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USDEL MEPC GENEVA UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 0835

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, UR, US, CSCE, XF

SUBJECT: BREZHNEV AT TULA: THE SOVIET DIPLOMATIC AGENDA FOR THE
NEW ADMINISTRATION

REF: (A) MOSCOW IR 6 091 0036 77 (NOTAL, (B) MOSCOW 710
(NOTAL, (C) MOSCOW 618 (NOTAL, (D) MOSCOW 18930 (NOTAL)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTION OF BREZHNEV'S JAN. 18
TULA SPEECH SEEMS DESIGNED TO CAP TWO MONTHS OF SOVIET EFFORT
TO SHAPE DIPLOMATIC AGENDA FOR NEW ADMINISTRATION. IN ORDER,
AGENDA READS: SALT AGREEMENT ON VLADIVOSTOK BASIS BEFORE
EXPIRATION OF IA OCTOBER 3; "BUSINESSLIKE TALKS" ON NON-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 00835 191327Z

PROLIFERATION; MBFR "AT ANY LEVEL AND AT ANY VENUE--IN VIENNA,
IN BONN, IN WASHINGTON, IN MOSCOW"; "SERIOUS, BUSINESS-LIKE
COOPERATION BASED ON A COMMON INTEREST IN SUCCESS" AT CSCE
BELGRADE TALKS; AND RECONVENING THE GENEVA MEPC, WHICH "IMPLIES
A STILL FURTHER INCREASE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE CO-CHAIRMEN." EXPLICITLY EXCLUDED FROM THE AGENDA ARE
ATTEMPTS TO "ADD NEW QUESTIONS TO THOSE THAT ARE CURRENTLY BEING

DISCUSSED" IN SALT AND ATTEMPTS TO "TEACH US TO LIVE ACCORDING TO RULES THAT ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, WITH SOCIALIST LAW AND ORDER" IN CSCE. BREZHNEV APPEARS TO US TO HAVE IDENTIFIED PRESSURE POINTS -- NEW ISSUES IN SALT, HUMAN RIGHTS IN CSCE, THE GENEVA FORUM FOR MIDDLE EAST ISSUES-- IN DEFINING THE AGENDA SOVIETS WANT DISCUSSED. END SUMMARY.

2. AWARDING A GOLD STAR TO TULA CITY FOR ITS 1941 SACRIFICES IN RESISTING NAZI INVASION, BREZHNEV PRAISED SOVIET ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COUNTRY SINCE WW II, HIGHLIGHTED LAST YEAR'S ECONOMIC GAINS, SPOKE OF THE BRIGHT PROSPECTS FOR 1977 AND CALLED FOR GREAT EFFORTS TO ASSURE CONTINUED SUCCESSES. TURNING TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BREZHNEV LISTED HOTSPOTS AROUND THE WORLD, AND DESCRIBED SOVIET PRESCRIPTIONS FOR COOLING THEM. FOCUSING ON THE WEST BREZHNEV DISCUSSED DISARMAMENT AND MILITARY CONFRONTATION WITH BOTH THE U.S. AND EUROPE AND CALLED FOR GREATER EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THEM PEACEFULLY. PRE-DELIVERY TEXT OF BREZHNEV SPEECH IN TULA WAS GIVEN PRESS ATTACHE BY TASS WITH COMMENT THAT ONLY U.S. WAS GETTING THIS TREATMENT. THIS REINFORCES OUR IMPRESSION THAT SPEECH IS OBVIOUSLY DESIGNED TO CAP TWO MONTHS OF SOVIET EFFORT SINCE ELECTION TO SHAPE AND ASSIGN PRIORITY TO THE MAIN DIPLOMATIC AGENDA ITEMS IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

3. DEFINITIVE AGENDA, AS GIVEN BY BREZHNEV ON EVE OF INAUGURATION, IS BOTH LONGER AND SHORTER THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED FROM MEDIA TREATMENT OF U.S. SINCE NOV. (REFTELS). IN ORDER, AGENDA ITEMS ARE: SALT, NON-PROLIFERATION, MBFR, CSCE, AND THE MIDDLE EAST. OTHER DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS--WORLD TREATY ON NON-USE OF FORCE, MDW, CTB, THE TRIDENT/B-1 OFFER, THE NON-FIRST USE OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 00835 191327Z

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TREATY--ARE CONSIGNED, IN EFFECT, TO THE PREAMBLE.

4. POINTS OF DETAIL REPRESENTING LATEST STAGE OF SOVIET THINKING, FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION AT LEAST, ARE FOLLOWING:

--BREZHNEV COMES OUT FORCEFULLY FOR KEEPING THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE SUBJECT MATTER AGREED AT VLADIVOSTOK, AND AGAINST "ADDING NEW QUESTIONS TO THOSE THAT ARE CURRENTLY BEING DISCUSSED." THIS CAN ONLY "FURTHER COMPLICATE AND PROCRASTINATE THE SOLUTION OF THE TASK IN GENERAL" BEYOND THE OCT. 3 EXPIRATION DATE OF THE IA. "THE CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT MUST NOT BE POSTPONED," BREZHNEV SAYS, ON PAIN OF A NEW SPIRAL IN THE ARMS RACE.

-- ON MBFR, BREZHNEV DECLARES SOVIET READINESS TO DISCUSS "THE RELATED QUESTIONS AT ANY LEVEL AND AT ANY VENUE--IN VIENNA, IN BONN, IN WASHINGTON, IN MOSCOW--ANYWHERE." THUS, FOR THE SECOND TIME, HE PICKS UP SCHMIDT'S CAMPAIGN FOCUS ON MBFR, BUT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN PUBLIC, HE SLIDES TOWARD READINESS TO COME TO WASHINGTON FOR THE SUMMIT.

--ON THE MIDDLE EAST, HIS REMARKS ON THE "FURTHER INCREASE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE" MAKE THE USSR'S CONCERN OVER ITS OWN FORMAL ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS EXPLICIT. AT THE SAME TIME, HE IS CAREFUL TO REAFFIRM "AT HIGHEST LEVEL" THE USSR'S COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S "RIGHT TO STATE INDEPENDENCE AND SECURE EXISTENCE."

5. WHAT BREZHNEV EXCLUDES IS ALMOST AS STRIKING AS WHAT HE INCLUDES. BEYOND EXPANSION OF SALT SUBJECT MATTER, HE EXPLICITLY EXCLUDES ADMISSIBILITY OF PRESSURE IN CSCE TO "TEACH US TO LIVE ACCORDING TO RULES THAT ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, WITH SOCIALIST LAW AND ORDER," I.E., PRESSURE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA AT BELGRADE. ALSO OBVIOUS IS THE SOVIET INTENTION TO USE "A NUMBER OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS, IN PARTICULAR ON SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS," I.E., THE BREZHNEV CONFERENCES PROPOSAL, TO DIVERT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 00835 191327Z

ATTENTION FROM HUMAN RIGHTS.

6. ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT WITHIN OUR COMPETENCE TO JUDGE THE TACTICAL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, IT APPEARS TO US THAT BREZHNEV'S INCLUSIONS AND EXCLUSIONS IDENTIFY A NUMBER OF PRESSURE POINTS ON THE AGENDA AS FAR AS THE SOVIETS ARE CONCERNED: THE SHAPE OF THE SALT AGENDA AND THE ONSET OF THE OCTOBER 3 DEADLINE, HUMAN RIGHTS IN CSCE, AND THE GENEVA MEPC FORUM WITH ITS SOVIET CO-CHAIRMANSHIP.
TOON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERIM GOVERNMENT, FOREIGN RELATIONS, MEETING AGENDA, SPEECHES, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 19-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOSCOW00835
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770019-1254
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770137/aaaabgkw.tel
Line Count: 149
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c1e8a2d4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 MOSCOW 6, 77 MOSCOW 710
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3559770
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BREZHNEV AT TULA: THE SOVIET DIPLOMATIC AGENDA FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, UR, US, XF, CSCE, (BREZHNEV, LEONID I)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c1e8a2d4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009